/6 cont'd/

yellow		vung	wang	fan	wiang	guan
sun		gong-nog	mo-neu			
ox	lo	ngong	ngong	du-wó	ngong	wau
moon		ngar	la		tha	hlo
eat		en	ning	nong	njien	nang
drink		hop	hop	hu	hop	hu
sleep		fei	fei	foi	bu	ba

/7/ If, outside the physical type, language is a comparatively reliable standard for the classification of the races of man, we may then say, in accordance with the chart given above, that the Miao of Hainan are of the same people as the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi rather than the Miao of Kwangsi. (Concerning the physical type of the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi, Mr. Fei Hsiao-t'ung has apparently made a scientific investigation, the results of which have not yet been published.) It is said that the name of the "Lan-tien" Yao of Kwangsi was derived from lan-tien /"blue indigo"/, which was the chief product of the region. The lan-tien is a plant, Polygonum tinctorium, which the Yao pick to make dye. With regard to this industry, the Report of an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi /see above/ has given a detailed study (pp. 13-14). During my last field trip to the Miao village of Ang-ch'i in Ta-chi, I saw a Miao woman making dye from a plant. I regret that at the time I did not notice whether this plant was the lan-tien. The Miao women of Hainan, in any case, are skilled in dyeing. This fact may be considered as contributory evidence.

If the aforesaid conclusion is in accord with the facts, then we can also deduce from which part of Kwangsi the Hainan Miao came. We are still not certain about the distribution of the Lan-tien Yao of Kwangsi either in the past or the present. However, according to the Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün of Kwangsi, it is a fact that there are at present Lan-tien Yao in Ling-yün district. If we may make the tentative deduction that the Lan-tien Yao have

/7 cont'd/

171 lived in Ling-yün district since before the Ming period, we may not be too far off in concluding accordingly that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Ling-yün district in Kwangsi province. (It is to be noted that Ling-yün is in the northwestern part of Kwangsi, which is adjacent to the southwestern part of Kweichou and north-
171 eastern part of Yünnan. In the Ming period, this area was under the
175 jurisdiction of Szŭ-ch'eng and T'u-chou and was occupied completely by the aboriginal peoples.) Furthermore, we can also adduce some evidence from the above cited family register of the Lin family of the Hainan Miao, which states: "They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Fu in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is auspicious." /8/ It is worth noting that there was a Szu-en Fu in the Ch'ing period; it was also called Szu-en Fu in the Ming period. During the Sung and Yüan periods, it was called Szu-en chou. Since the Republic, it has been under the jurisdiction of Nan-ning tao /district/. Its location is in the northern part of Kwangsi adjacent to the southern part of Kweichou. From ancient times, it has been a land of uncivilized wilderness. At the end of the Hung-chih period (1488-1505) of the Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the Ming period, it was brought under the liu system /i.e., it became a normal administrative unit under the local government/. It is beyond doubt that the "Szu-en Fu" written in the family register of the Lins is a miswriting of the above "Szu-en Fu" /the "Szŭ" in the register is indicated by a different character. —Ed./. Hence, there should be no question that a part of the Miao of Hainan migrated from Szŭ-en Fu of Kwangsi, although until we have historical documents and reports from firsthand investigation, we cannot be sure whether the Lan-tien Yao people lived in the Szŭ-en Fu area during the Ming and Ch'ing periods or whether a part of them is there at the present time. This is all we can say about the question concerning the part of Kwangsi from which the Miao migrated to Hainan.

101 However, there is another question confronting us. Since the
171 Miao of Hainan Island originally were derived from the Yao of

/8 cont'd/

101 Kwangsi, why, after their migration to Hainan Island, did all the
171 local annals, and even they themselves, call them "Miao"? At present, I am still unable to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps, the Miao and Yao of Kwangsi were originally of the same people but had different names, or perhaps the present Yao of Kwangsi were called Miao in former times. This question already involves all the peoples of southwest China and even becomes an important problem in the history of the Chinese people.

131 Now, let us discuss the geographical distribution of the Miao of
[221 Hainan Island. The Annals of Kan-en District /see above/ states:
243] "(The Miao people) never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice.... They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again." At present the situation is still
[166] the same (for details see Chapter 3 of this book). Because of this kind of moving about, it is absolutely impossible for us to study their fixed geographical distribution. As for the distribution of the Miao recorded in the old local annals, in addition to what has already been cited about Tan-chou and Kan-en, (the annals of Ch'iung-chou Fu, Vol. 20, states that there was only one Miao village in Tan-chou, called Ta-shan Miao which was under the jurisdiction of the Li-tsung /magistrate/ of Lung-t'ou-t'ung), the Annals of Ch'iung-chou Prefecture, (Vol. 20) states that there were five Miao villages in Ch'iung-shan district under the jurisdiction of the /9/ chief of the military settlement of T'ung-t'ung. The names of the five villages were as follows:

The Upper Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Lower Residence of the Miao of Chen-ling
The Residence of the Fan-fou Miao
The Upper Residence of the Shui-shang Miao
The Lower Residence of the Shui-shang Miao

131 Since the original reason why the Miao came was for the suppression
175 of the Li uprisings in Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs, and for guarding the military post of Lo-an, Lo-an beyond doubt must have been their first large encampment. Although they subsequently

/21/

192 807 171 From the above chart, we can observe a peculiarity of the Miao language, which is their method of counting numbers. Usually in other languages the numbers beyond ten consist of the sound for ten combined with other numbers. For instance, in Chinese the number eleven is shih-i, which is a combination of the sounds of shih (ten) and i (one); shih-erh (twelve) is a combination of shih (ten) and erh (two), and so on. But the Miao language in Hainan is not like this. Eleven in the Miao language is not pronounced sip à but sip jā; twelve is not pronounced sip ì but sip ngi. This is a notable difference from other languages. Furthermore, there is a peculiarity of the Yao language in Kwangsi. (It is said that this peculiarity is common to all spoken languages of the T'ai people.) This is the reversed sentence construction, in which adjectives are usually put after the nouns instead of before. In the Chinese language we say "blue clothes," "high mountains," and "small chickens"; in the Yao language the word order is usually reversed as in "clothes blue," "mountains high," and "chickens small," etc. (See Report on an Investigation of the Yao of Ling-yün in Kwangsi, p. 26.) I regret that I did not notice whether the Miao of Hainan also had this kind of syntax.

193 171

191 184 The spoken language of the Miao of the different areas in Hainan seems to be lacking in uniformity. The above list is based upon my personal study of the dialect spoken by the Miao of Ang-chi village of Ta-chi in Pao-t'ing district. But according to Hainan Tao Chih /Annals of Hainan Island/, edited by Chen Ming-shu and others, the Miao dialects of Yai district (the present Lo-tung) and Lin-kao district (the present Pai-sha) seem different from that of Ang-chi. Some works are listed below for reference:

/23 cont'd/

133 become especially skilled in hunting. At the same time, the
221 mountain slopes are very well suited to animal husbandry. Owing to the lack of streams, however, fishing is rather negligible. In general, agriculture—tilling the mountain slopes—remains the
[224] chief aspect of their economic life. Hunting is also very important and, to a lesser extent, animal husbandry, while fishing is of no importance. Their economic life is thus entirely conditioned by geographic factors. We shall discuss this in the following sections.

2. Agriculture

241 There are two different methods of agriculture adopted by the Miao, cultivating level fields and planting the mountain slopes. As we have mentioned before, there is a good deal of mountainous land and few level fields. Therefore, the planting of mountain slopes is the chief /24/ form of agriculture while the cultivation of level rice fields is only secondary.

The work of planting the mountain slopes usually begins in the second month of the lunar year. First, they cut down the trees; then they cease working for a short period to allow the branches to be dried by the sun, after which they burn them; the ashes remaining are a natural fertilizer. Subsequently, they sow the seed in holes dug by spades and hoes. The main crop they cultivate is rice grown on dry land. Corn and beans are also raised on a large scale.
[242] After the seeds are sown, they neither fertilize nor irrigate, and only after the crops are grown is any weeding done. The eighth or ninth month of the same year is usually the time of harvest.

243 Their method of cultivating their level rice fields is almost the
● [171] same as that of the Chinese. Cultivation usually begins in early spring. Their tools consist of ploughs and harrows which are drawn
[231] by oxen. Their method of sowing and transplanting the rice sprouts is also the same as the Chinese. However, they pay little attention to fertilizing, irrigation, and weeding. The wet rice fields can be cultivated and harvested twice a year. The first period is from the first month to the fifth month of the lunar year; the second period from the sixth to the ninth month. With dry fields there is

/25 cont'd/

3. Hunting

224 411 Living deep in the mountains, the Miao people are the companions of birds and animals. In their leisure time, therefore, the men usually go out hunting. The principal weapon is the musket and gunpowder, which are imported by Chinese merchants. The gun is of the same type used by the Chinese. Only the leather [414 5 powder bag is made by themselves. The bow used by the Miao 28] people is also an efficient weapon for hunting. It is made of wood, and the string is made of hemp. Iron arrowheads are used for hunting large animals, bamboo ones for birds. It is said that they have [278] a virulent poison which is made of a mixture of leaves of certain plants, gall of poisonous snakes, and other such things. Any beast shot by these poisoned arrows will die immediately without shedding a drop of blood. The poisoned arrows are always firmly sealed in tubes which are not opened until just before use. If they are exposed to the air for a longer period, the poison would be dissipated by exposure and the arrows cannot kill the animals. There are also 278 certain drugs to be used as antidotes to the poison. /26/ If a man 752 is shot by mistake, he can be cured by taking a drug which is said to be made from wine dregs. After being buried in the ground for a few years, the moisture in the dregs is completely evaporated, and it becomes a hard lump. If a victim of a poisoned arrow swallows a piece of this, the poison is immediately neutralized.

224 In the Miao mountains, one may encounter the Miao in small ●171 groups of three to five with guns or bows in hand looking for birds and animals. They are all good shots who hardly miss. This skill can never be matched by the Li people.

4. Animal Husbandry

231 As far as the geographic environment is concerned, the Miao area is very suitable for animal husbandry. But in fact herding is not very popular among the Miao. We can hardly find a family among the Miao which owns a herd of several tens or perhaps several hundreds of mountain cattle, as is the case among the Li.

/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
●[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
● 171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
596 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/33 cont'd/
61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the 121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured. [71] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 592] There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several [361 311] families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed, 622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/42 cont'd/

000 we did not have the opportunity to taste it. Their chopsticks, bowls,
415 trays, and dishes are of the same kind as those of the Chinese.
171 Their method of maintaining potable water is also worth noting.
312 High in the mountains where the Miao live, there are no streams. Even small ditches are rarely to be found. Except for rain water, ordinary drinking water is hard to come by. Hence their water supply largely depends on small springs high up in the mountains from which the water is conducted downward by bamboo tubes joined together. These springs are not copious and drop by drop it flows
415 down the bamboo tubes. The people who take the water just put a bamboo bucket (made of rather bulky bamboo, and about three or four ch'ih high) under the lower end of the bamboo tube. When the bucket is full of water, they carry it back home and put the water into large jars. /43/ Since the springs are very small, and dirt
444 often gets into the water, it is unusually impure, and an outsider easily gets sick by drinking it.

273 The men like to smoke and drink wine. There are women who
276 drink wine; there are none who smoke. The tobacco smoked is of two kinds—the cut, pipe tobacco and tobacco leaves. They usually use a water pipe made of bamboo tubes for smoking. Cigarettes are not very popular. They are very careful drinkers, and it is unusual to see anyone drink to the point of becoming intoxicated. Except at feasts, drinking is not a daily habit. Betel-nut chewing is a favorite practice.

2. Clothing

291 Miao men's clothing is very simple. On the upper body is worn a short coat with a large lapel which opens on the right side. The coat either has a collar or is collarless and has three or four buttons. The long pants worn on the lower body are the same as those of the
302 Chinese. Miao men generally shave the hair all around, leaving
291 only a small circle on the top of the head or a queue which is rolled around the head. The forehead is sually covered with a long folded kerchief. Boys wear small mellon caps and usually go barefoot in the daytime and wear wooden slippers at night.

/43 cont'd/

291 Women's dress: On the upper part of the body the women wear a collarless, knee-length dress, which fastens down the front. It has only one button but is tied by a belt around the waist so that the breast is covered. On the lower part of the body they wear a short petticoat. Since it is covered by a long dress only a small part of the petticoat is left outside. Miao women wear no trousers underneath. The petticoat is neatly printed with triangular designs done by the wax-dyeing method. The head is wrapped in a pointed ker-
293 chief, which keeps the woman's face partly covered. It seems that the Miao woman does not wish to show her whole face to a stranger. The kerchief is embroidered with different designs. Young girls love to wear their round caps when they dress up. These caps are made of cloth of red, yellow, blue, and other colors sewed together and embroidered on top. They are beautiful to see. Married women do
304 not wear them. Shoes are not regularly worn by women. Their legs
301 are bound with strips of cloth in the same way soldiers wrap their legs. They also wear earrings and bracelets but no necklaces.

291 /44/ Due to long, uninterrupted contact with the Chinese, there
● 171 are many Miao men who wear Chinese clothes, particularly the young men. They wear wool caps, short shirts which fasten down the front, long pants, and rubber-soled shoes, which make them look exactly like the Chinese.

3. Dwellings

342 The Miao house is made of bamboo walls plastered with mud and roofed with thatch. The house is rectangular in shape with the door at the front. The overhang of the eaves facing the front is very wide and forms a corridor-lounge. Inside the house is divided by earthen walls into three parts. The two small rooms to the left and right serve as bedrooms and the central one as a living room. The kitchen stove, made of stone, is set up in the latter. The bed is
352 made of strips of bamboo, which are supported by long wooden benches. Bamboo mats are used as a mattress. Mosquito netting is also occasionally used. It is really surprising to see mosquito nets there, because even among the Chinese of Hainan, mosquito nets are only rarely seen.

/51 cont'd/
585 dong (transliteration) are in bloom. It is said that this period of the year is unlucky for marriage. The best times for a marriage are in the eleventh month, twelfth month, and the first month.

3. Funeral Service

764 The funeral is usually held on the second day after the death of a Miao. Without waiting for a request from the dead man's family, his fellow villagers gather together voluntarily to offer their assistance in attending to the funeral rites. The coffin is made of wood. After the corpse is placed in it, the coffin is taken out through the main entrance. Three burning incense sticks are put in front of the coffin. At the same time, a man holding a big knife chants incan-
[793] tations toward the coffin. After the coffin is covered, two Taoist priests face the dead person and pray. It is said that they pray that he, in the other world, will bless the children he has left behind. A priest cuts three ropes which were previously put on top of the coffin. It is said that the idea of this is to tell the deceased that the different paths of yin and yang are now separated by this. After the dead man's children have set their finger prints on the coffin, it is carried by four men to the grave site and interred. A simple band of musicians and the dead man's son (or sons) accompanies the coffin to the grave. If his son (or sons) is too young, he only escorts the coffin to the gate of the village. Daughters do not accompany the coffin. After the burial, the funeral is over. The Miao do not have any post-
[768] funeral services as the Chinese do, such as the "Seventh Day Memorial Services," "Anniversary Memorial Service," "Third Anniversary Memorial Service," "Tomb-sweeping Ceremony," etc. While the burial is taking place the hats of the dead man's children
[765] are fastened with hemp strings to indicate mourning. After the burial is over, they are taken off.

765 According to Miao superstition, the tso-chai service is necessary before the soul of the deceased can reach its final resting place.
[771] The tso-chai service of the Miao is similar to the chien-chiao service of the Chinese. /52/ According to Miao custom, this service is held within one or two years after the death. The service may last

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan
● 171 Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 4. Festivals and Sports
527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered [782] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/53 cont'd/

526 As far as I know, there is one kind of recreation popular among
171 the Miao. This is to swing on a rope string, which is usually done in late spring and early summer. The construction and use of the swing among the Miao are similar to that of the Li. It has been described in detail in my previous book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, and a repetition here is not necessary.

/54/ Chapter VII. Religion, Superstitions, etc.

771 1. Taoist Priests

Taoism is the only religion of the Miao. It has greatly in-
793 fluenced their social life. Those who conduct the religious ceremony are the Taoist priests, who are divided into two different groups, the civilian Taoist priests and the military Taoist priests.
795 The pictures and religious texts used by these two groups are entire-
776 ly different. As I saw during the tso-chai ceremony, the gods worshiped by the civilian group were Li Hsieh Wang, Tsu Kung, Shen Nung, Tou Kung, and others. Those worshiped by the military group were Yü Ch'ing, Shang Ch'ing, T'ai Ch'ing, Shang Yüan, Chung Yüan, Hsia Yüan, Yang Hu, and others. There is a pictorial representation of each god. In general, the gods of the civilian group have large heads and those of the military group have smaller
779 ones. In addition to the gods mentioned above, I have found other
776 names in Taoist classics, which are as follows:

T'an Kuan	Chiu Kuan	Ch'en Shih-wu Kuan
Li Hsin-sheng	Kung Huang	Chia Kuan
Ti Szu	An-t'an Ch'uan	Chiu Niang /The ninth lady/
Younger sister Fu-ch'i	Yü Huang	Lui-chia Min-kuan (Lui Kung)
Ching Chu	Chia Hsien	Tang-nien Wen Chu /The god of the year's plague/

/119 cont'd/

648 to take them out of there; that was all they wanted. This was their sincere plea!

181 185 The Miao are very anxious for land ownership. A Miao leader complained to me vigorously: "Since we are the same people being governed by the same government, why don't we have a chance to own land?" Another one comforted himself by saying: "We don't have land only because the feng-shui in our locality is very poor; so we would have to invite a famous feng-shui expert to adjust it. Then we would be better off naturally." From these conversations we could imagine how anxiously the Miao are dreaming of land ownership. Yet they are not merely "desiring" land or waiting for what fate may decide. They know that land can be bought only 181 with money. If they want land they have to work hard so that they 556 may save some money for the purchase of land. It is indeed true 648 that a great deal of land has been gradually transferred from Li land- 423 lords to the Miao. I personally saw many such land transfer /120/ contracts in Miao homes. This shows how hard the Miao are struggling for a living. Furthermore, such hard circumstances also make the Miao more solidly unified. This fact has surprised many outside observers who have visited the Miao area. Moreover, due to their firm awareness of the struggle for a livelihood, they also possess an anxious desire for learning. They like to read and show their interest 181 in accepting Chinese civilization. When we had just arrived in the 171 Miao area, several young men began to beg us to take them out of there and send them to school. This situation was completely different from that of the Li, who consider that school is prison. One of the Miao leaders complained to us very angrily that two years before the "Li-appeasing official" Ch'en Han-kuang had selected two to three hundred young Li men and sent them to the Yen-t'ang Military Academy at Canton, but that no Miao youths had been selected.

181 871 648 Undergoing great hardship, the Miao have established schools in their villages and have paid large salaries to employ Chinese teachers. This usually meets with the opposition of the few Li leaders, who are jealous about it. I heard that the year before a Miao

/122 cont'd/

H 181 273 276 [48] and smoking are very popular habits among the Li. Parents do not even forbid their children to indulge in them. Taking advantage of this Li habit, the Chinese merchants make money by encouraging them to go on sprees. Consequently, many Li become bankrupt. (For further reference, see Chapter V of Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.) Since they need not worry about making a living, the Li are lazy as compared with the Miao. The Miao want more land to cultivate but do not have mountain slopes that they can plant. The Li, on the contrary, do not want to work while they have lots of land. This is a sharp contrast between the two peoples. In personality the Li are masterful, savage and cruel, and hot-tempered. On the one hand, this might be due to the influence of smoking and drinking; on the other hand, there is also the historical factor. In the past 2,000 years, Li uprisings were very frequent. The governments of successive dynasties constantly tried to reduce them to submission by force. However, they have never really been subdued. No dynasty has ever really had them under complete control. Hence they still retain the fighting nature of a primitive people. However, some aspects of their nature are also praiseworthy. They are very frank and straightforward. These characteristics show up especially clearly when they are compared with the Miao.

H M 171 157 181

(3)

H M 648 439 The preceding has been a discussion of the conflicts in the relationships of the three peoples. Now let us discuss the harmonious aspects.

Relations between ethnic groups are based upon mutual demands. Therefore days of peace are more frequent than days of dissension, and harmonious relations are more evident than those of conflict. The harmonious relations between the Chinese, Li, and Miao are very evident and easily seen and are based upon their economic transactions. In these harmonious relations, an important role is played by the Chinese merchants. They have created an unbreakable

/129 cont'd/
755 sick man was lying on the ground, as thin as a stick. When we in-
796 quired about his illness, we learned that he was suffering from stomach trouble, probably caused by careless eating. Since the only medicine we had on hand was a box of "Gardon," we gave him a grain to take. We asked three boys to come back with us to fetch more stomach medicine so that the patient could continue taking it. When we reached our lodgings it was one o'clock in the morning.

Second month, twentieth day. (Saturday)

132 It was rather chilly when we rose early in the morning, and the
137 thermometer read 58° Fahrenheit. When I first arrived here I was surprised to see only a few solitary coconut palms, which was quite different from the dense growths of coconut palms to be found elsewhere in Hainan. Now I began to understand: because this area is adjacent to the interior part of Hainan Island, it is cut off from outside air by several layers of high mountains, and the temperature here is thus lower, and it is not easy for coconut palm trees to grow big in this climate.

126 At eleven o'clock in the morning, we left for Yen-sheng village
764 to watch a burial ceremony. The whole affair, from beginning to end, was filmed with a motion-picture camera by Mr. /130/ Kuang Po-hsiao, as an opportunity of this kind is very hard to come by. The
● [171] ceremony was in many instances influenced by Chinese customs, traces of which could be seen in such things as paper banners, mourning garments worn by members of the family, stone tablets for tombstones, etc. The whole ceremony took several hours, and it was not until four in the afternoon that the burial was completed.

123 According to the original plans of our party, we were to split into two groups at this place, from which we would pursue different routes for our excursions. At night we discussed our future plans and decided upon a general outline of the work to be done.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate ● 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171
585 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

/143 cont'd/

872 that a primary-school building had been set up—a concrete manifestation of their pressing desire for education. A teacher, a native of Wan-ning had also been hired and had arrived. However, the question of his salary was still being negotiated.

585 The bride was a niece of Headman Lu, she had been brought up in Lu's family after having lost her parents in childhood. The bridegroom was also of the same village. We knew the families of both from before. We had bought several boxes of firecrackers at Wenhua center, which we had brought along as a wedding present. The wedding took place right after sunset. This time it was the groom who was to be married to the bride and who was taken into the latter's home. The groom covered his face with a red kerchief and was carried over on a man's back, followed by a procession of men serving as "bridemaids." The females on the bride's side began to shower extravagant jokes on him; some teased him with words, and others pushed him when he was not on guard to knock him down.

585 The groom stood there stiffly like a wooden cock, completely ener-
● 171 vated, afraid even to take the red kerchief from his face. Onlookers sweated for him at the sight, and several companions came to his rescue and tried to get him away from the siege of these mischievous women. The series of jokes played on the groom reminded me of the Chinese custom of carrying on horseplay at weddings except that here the object was the groom instead of the bride. There were a great many more ceremonies and practices after the groom arrived at the bride's home. We watched till one o'clock in the morning before we went home to go to bed.

Third month, thirteenth day. (Saturday)

In the morning the groom presented a cup of wine to the bride's parents, to whom he showed great respect in his conduct, a custom closely resembling that of the Chinese, in which the bride presents wine to her parents-in-law with great ceremony. At noon the bride visited the groom's family for the first time. She had barely come in when a Taoist priest was asked to perform the simple ritual of ch'ü sha /"expelling baleful influences"/.

M 353 [184] [551] [354] [778] M 342 [353] [556] [251] [231] 514 M 251 M [813] M 241 171 352 M 487 C 487

143 cont. / Among the Miao there are five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. The arrangement described above is a Lung house of someone with the surname. The families with other surnames place the fireplace, the kitchen stove, and the ancestral shrine on the right-hand room, just the opposite of the Lung surname families. In the two-room type of house the fire pit is in back of the middle pillar, and the stove is located in the room on the left (Illus. 16). The partition into two or three rooms is done by means of the pillars and not by walls or screens. In the houses of wealthy families side rooms are built on both sides of the main house (Illus. 17). If the side rooms should have two stories, then the top story is for the storage of grain and the ground floor for rearing domestic animals. The toilet space in a Miao house is often in the pig pen or in the cow stall, and used both by men and women. Travelers in the Miao area find the using of the toilet a painful ordeal, because the stench is unbearable. Besides the storage loft the Miao house often has underground storage, dug underground about a chang deep and divided into two or three bins for storing foreign potatoes or sweet potatoes. After the sweet potatoes, etc. are stored underground, they are covered with a bamboo-plaited cover, to allow free circulation of air. If the potatoes spoil, it is necessary to wait for some time after the bamboo covering has been removed before going down. Or, one goes down with a light; if the light goes out, it indicates the presence of carbon dioxide, and one must refrain from entering. There is no difference between the agricultural implements used by the Miao and by the Chinese, but the furniture in a Miao house is much smaller in size than those used by the Chinese (Illus. 17).

Roads. — The communication system in the Miao area consists of land routes and waterways. The most important waterway is the T'ung Ho, because it is navigable for a comparatively long distance, and it goes deep into Miao country. This river starts at Lu Ch'i and goes toward the mouth, extending 17 li to Su-mu Ch'i, ten more li to Hsien-ch'i-t'ang, another 21 li to Nung-t'an, 15 more li to T'an Ch'i, ten more

/55 cont./

243
312

[171]

1. This kind of water wheel is propelled completely by water power. In the mountainous areas of Hunan and Kweichow where the water flows rapidly, such utilization of natural water power is very widespread. It is not found only in Miao areas. Sung Ying-hsing of the Ming period wrote in his Tien Kung Kai Wu: "The rapid water flowing underneath the wheel makes it rotate, forcing the water into tubes, one by one leading into another bamboo tube and flowing into the field. It never stops day or night; there is no worry for a hundred fields (see Vol. I, 'Nai Li /Grains/')." A kind of water mill (Illus. 31) used in the Miao area also utilizes natural water power.

The size of the water wheel depends upon the height of the terraced fields. By means of long and short bamboo tubes the water is conducted to near and distant fields. The terraced fields in the Miao area involve considerable labor. On a slope where there is a spring, earth is scooped out to make raised paths between fields, which act as dikes, going up in tiers, or stones are piled up to make embankments on both banks of a stream. These man-made terraced fields require a great deal of time and labor and are susceptible to drought. For they rise from the foot to the waist of the mountain, tier by tier, like a ladder, so that it is very easy for the water in the fields to leak away. But in the event of a shortage of rainfall, when the spring fed by mountain streams dries up, irrigation stops

[332]
[333]

[731]
[784]

/69 cont./

245 Among the pine trees produced in the Miao area, there is a red pine which has firm and glossy wood that does not rot when put in the earth for a long time. A good one has the quality of ox horn, is bright red, good for making implements, good-looking and durable. Also grey pine (Illus. 35) is produced, suitable for beams. Other products like mulberry, hemp 248 (Illus. 37), and cotton also are produced in quantity, and are important economic plants.

226 Fishing and animal husbandry. — The Miao like to eat sour fish, so they have a number of ways of raising and catching [262] fish. To raise fish, pools in ravines are made into ponds, and [231] fry are bought from the Chinese to raise, particularly of huan [439] and lien /a kind of bream/. Also, in low-lying rice fields they place a bamboo wattle fence to stop up the place where the field water goes out (Illus. 38), to keep the fish from flowing out. A great many common fish are raised in these fields. To catch fish they use nets, hooks, and poison. Fishing nets are cast anywhere at will in streams and rivers during the day. At night nets are put down in fast-flowing water along the embankments, on sand bars, at springs, and in shallow ponds. Also, they mix eggs with cooked rice and fry it in vegetable oil, and throw the rice in such places as still shallow water on a sand bar or in shallow ponds. Fish are said to be attracted by the smell of the food and come to gather at these places. Markers are set out in the daytime, and at night they come to these spots to cast their nets. The amount of the catch from these places is larger than elsewhere. They use a small bamboo [227] pole for a fishing rod, and a line twisted from horsetail hair. [171] The hook and the buoy are the same as those used by the Chi- [825] nese, and they also use such bugs as earthworms, centipedes, and spiders for bait. In the winter season the fish tend to remain [227] at the bottom of the water, and therefore they attach tiny pieces of lead to the line to make the hook sink down below. In the spring season when the weather gets warmer, fish become more active and swim to the surface; they therefore attach a piece of wood or twig halfway down the line to prevent the hook

/72 cont./ They reared the
231 silkworms until the cocoons were formed, wound off the silk
[283] from the cocoons, reeled it, and made it into native thread
[291] and silk. They dyed the material and made it into women's clothes. Recently they have learned how to hatch the worms from eggs themselves.

[285] The number of Miao who keep bees is quite large. They weave dup, open bamboo baskets, plaster them with mud on the outside, and make three openings in the front (Illus. 39) for the bees to go in and come out. They are covered with old
[438] bamboo hats. The honey produced is mainly sold. The yellow
237 wax is used to burn in place of incense and candles when wor-
[782] shiping the spirits.

285 Crafts. — The most common handicraft industry among the Miao is the weaving of bamboo wares. Bamboo splints are used to make baskets, containers, back carriers, fish traps, mats, and hats. The manufacture of hats and back carriers
[291] shows fine workmanship. The bamboo hats are worn by men
[482] and women over the headband in place of umbrellas. The back carrier has two carrying rings. At the time of use these go over
[854] the shoulders, with the basket full of various articles on the back. Women going into the fields often place their babies in the carriers so they can be free to work as usual. In addition to the use of bamboo as a raw material in weaving things, there is
[513] also lampwick grass, which can be woven into bed matting.
[438] After meeting their own needs the surplus is also sold. The cloth
286 woven by the women resembles that of the Chinese both in
[171] method and in design, and is also sold. Ninety-nine per cent
[438] of the Miao are farmers, there being very few artisans. Al-
463 though today a few have learned to do silversmithing, black-
[326] smithing, coppersmithing, or carpentry, ordinarily they are
[335] mainly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the handicraft is only a side line and that is all.

439 Trade. — The Miao people do not know how to trade. Formerly, the Chinese brought salt and cloth into the Miao villages to exchange for their local products, but there were many dishonest traders, who cheated the Miao, giving rise to

/88 cont./

291 part being a single strip of cloth and the lower part being a double strip. When going to markets or visiting relatives and [574] friends to offer congratulations or condolences, women wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their skirts. Thus it can be seen that the Miao skirt has the same function as trousers. Today, the Miao women in Hunan also wrap a strip of cloth around the waist outside their trousers when dressing up (Illus. 48), and their not wearing skirts is different from the Chinese. /Illus. 53 appears here./

/89/ /Illus. 54 appears here./ Miao womens' headbands can generally be divided into three types: 1) the tray type (Illus. 44 sic), in which the cloth is wound around the head, which is the most common; 2) the round type (Illus. 45), in which the cloth is wrapped around the head in the shape of a round ball; and 3) the open type (Illus. 46), in which after the cloth is wound around the head, about a ch'ih of the material is left hanging behind. There is an infinite variety of cloth used for headbands, including colored checked cloth, green cotton prints, green cloth, and black cloth. Young girls mainly use variegated checked cloth and green cotton prints, whereas the old women use green and black cloth. As for hair styles, that 302 of married women is different from the unmarried women's. [585] The married women wear knots at the nape of the neck, and the unmarried part their hair in the middle and plait queues, which hang down the back (Illus. 47, the second person from the left).

301 Among the ornaments of Miao women are neck rings, earrings, bracelets, finger rings, silver chains, and silver pendants (Illus. 48). Neck rings include rings with twisted strands and with paralell strands. The former is usually worn at the neck (see Illus. 47, the two women in the center). The latter is one that combines three rings of different sizes; there are also many with up to five rings. These are like those worn by [71] the Miao in Kweichow today. The other ornaments are for the most part more or less the same as those worn by Chinese women.

/172 cont./
782 wine bowl, water bowl, and other things have to be thoroughly washed before they can be taken into the house.

(13) The White Tiger

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "Five Kuei," except no eggs are used for sacrifice.

(14) Expelling Evil Influences

[755] The reason, the place, the ritual, and the arrangements are the same as those for the "White Tiger."

(15) Expelling the Kuei of Quarrels

[755] [578] [776] In the event of sickness or of encountering a kuei's mischief, or a quarrel with someone, a sorcerer-priest is asked to come to the house to expel the kuei of quarrels. If one inadvertently walks into a house where this performance is going on, as soon as he becomes aware of this, he also has to hold a performance to expel the kuei of quarrels. When a Chinese runs [171] into this situation, he does not have to avoid it. Therefore, [576] [609] when a Miao happens to go to the house of someone whom he does not know well, he must first ask before entering: "Is it all right to come in?" He must wait for the reply, "It is all right to come in," before he enters. This is not so much to get permission from the master of the house, as that he is afraid of running into an untoward situation whereby he will have to spend money for the kuei, and so he is doubly careful.

For the ritual for expelling the kuei of quarrels, they spread out rice straw under the eaves outside the house during the daytime. On the straw are set up five cups of wine, five piles of mi-pa, with the middle pile having three sticks of

/175 cont./

*782 he examines which chiao it is. If it is sheng chiao, then he be-
*787 gins his inquiries from nine and again performs the divination. If he gets sheng chiao again, then the strength of the shen is nine points. If he does not get sheng chiao, then the sorcerer-priest announces a number between five or seven and fifteen; it has to be an odd number. When he divines again and still fails to get sheng chiao, then he has to keep on naming numbers and divining.
*782 After this he utters the incantation to send off the shen, also interspersed with the sound of cymbal and gong. Afterwards he empties the bowl of tea, and changes to pouring wine. Continuing his incantation, the sorcerer-priest picks up a bamboo bow and five arrows. He chants toward the east and shoots an arrow to the dragon shen of the east, and his helper burns the eastern petition box. Thus, one by one the performance is repeated for each direction, and finally the center petition box is burned. After the burning, the sorcerer-priest picks up the paper horses and utters an incantation to them. The large horse is cut into five lengths and pasted on the wall corners in the four directions and the middle. The next largest horse is hung on the beam, and the smallest horse is pasted in the center. The piece of cinnabar is placed in a cup and ground with a little wine. The earth covering the dragon chamber is removed as well as the slate, and into the chamber is poured the cinnabar wine, and then it is covered up as before. Paper is burned on it, more incantations are said, and all the paper money is gathered up and burned to send off the shen.

(19) Offering Thanks to Graves

[171] The Miao custom of offering thanks to graves is different from the Chinese custom of sweeping the tombs of ancestors. The reason for the former is similar to offering thanks to the earth. The ritual also is similar on the whole, except that it takes place on the grave. The top of the grave serves as the center. The circle and eight diagrams are not drawn with white lime, and no winnowing basket is used. Only 17 bowls are used,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and then, after meeting the Chinese, migrated to the south and the south-west. Abadie in *Les Races du Haut-Tonkin* states that the Miao entered the highlands of Tongkin in very recent times. The Suifu history speaks of the Miao being in the Szechwan-Yunnan border region during the Sung and the Ming Dynasties, but it does not indicate what tribe or tribes of Miao were represented nor when or whence they came.

The Ch'uan Miao have a tradition that they were brought from somewhere in South China, probably from the region of Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien, within the last three centuries, with their hands tied behind their backs, and released where they now live. Some of them point to peculiar wrinkles between their wrists and their elbows which they believe to be scars made by the cords that bound their ancestors. There are legends that point to a land in the north where there were camels and also Chinese, and others that speak of groves of banana trees on the hillsides. There are legends to the effect that their ancestors lived in a hot southern climate, and others that mention a race of people whose skins are black. The Ch'uan Miao embroidery resembles that of the Miao on the Island of Hainan more than it does that of the Hua Miao, their nearest neighbors on the south. Their language has nine tones, like that of some of the Chinese of the Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Fukien region, while the Chinese language spoken in West China has only four or five tones. After studying their legends and Chinese history I am inclined to think that the ancestors of the Ch'uan Miao originally lived far south in the torrid zone, in the region of India, Burma or Tongkin or some island in the Pacific or Indian Ocean, whence they migrated northward above the Tongkin Lake and even into the Yellow River Valley where they met the Chinese over four thousand years ago. Thence they went southward into Kwangtung or Kwangsi from where they were brought as captives and released in the highlands where they now live, not over three centuries ago.

It is possible that the Ch'uan Miao are a mixture of several smaller Miao groups who have been or are being absorbed into one cultural group in one cultural area. In this area there are many lesser variations but a general similarity in language, customs, and physical appearance. In northern Yunnan there is a group of Ch'uan Miao called the Hsiao Hua Miao 小花苗 or Little Flowery Miao, that is now being absorbed. In the northern part of Kweichow there are Ch'uan Miao who are called Ya Ch'iao Miao 鴉雀苗 or Magpie Miao who may be a small group that has been almost absorbed. Near Chên Hsiung 鎮雄 are the Hmoɔ Gɪ or White Miao who are also Ch'uan Miao. Near Lo Piao the Ch'uan Miao

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

[292] [177] The Ch'uan Miao men formerly wore elaborately embroidered clothing on festive occasions but this custom has almost entirely disappeared. They commonly dress exactly like the Chinese so that it is impossible to distinguish a 291 Ch'uan Miao man or boy when he is on a road or in a village. 562 But there is no such difficulty in recognizing a Ch'uan Miao girl or woman for her attire is different from that of the women of any other tribe or race in West China. Near Lo Piao the hat consists of a bamboo basket-like frame covered over the top with cloth that resembles human hair and around which are wound beautifully embroidered bands which are often joined at the rear and allowed to hang down the person's back. The jacket or gown reaches just below the waist and is ornamented along the edges with colored embroidery. It is fastened by a button at the throat, another between the neck and the right shoulder, another under the right armpit and others going vertically down the right side. Over this garment is often worn a finely embroidered breast cover. The skirt is pleated so that it can be easily made into a complete circle when it is laid upon the ground. Designs are dyed on the skirt in blue over beeswax, after which the garment is further ornamented by varicolored embroidery designs. The skirt is fastened on by a belt consisting ordinarily of a cord or unornamented belt of cotton or hemp cloth and on festive occasions by an embroidered belt from which are hung several embroidered cloth pendants. They wear a beautifully embroidered apron and the lower legs are covered by puttees of blue or white cloth that are sometimes embroidered. The thicker the puttees the more attractive they are supposed to be. No trousers are used but sometimes they wear more than one skirt. On the feet straw sandals are generally worn, but sometimes cloth shoes that may or may not be embroidered. Two brass hatpins on which ornamental designs are carved, brass or silver earrings and hair ornaments, and silver or brass finger-rings and bracelets complete the attire of the Ch'uan Miao women who rarely use cosmetics which they do not need because of their naturally good complexions.

294 [171] Carl Schuster, who has specialized in the study of embroideries, visited the West China Union University Museum in the fall of 1935. He was intensely interested in the Ch'uan Miao embroideries and found two elaborate designs that also occur in eastern Europe, one among the Ukranians and the other among the Rumanians. These are so complex that scientists would find it difficult to believe that their existence in the three cultural groups could be explained otherwise than by diffusion. He considered the art of the Ch'uan Miao embroideries, judged by the fineness and elaborateness of the designs and the colors, to be among the best, but the collection of Ch'uan Miao embroideries that he

12: Wu and Ch'en--58 E-5 (1939-41) 1942 AE5 Miao AE5

[114 cont.]

121 habits. The development of the plot of the story, furthermore, will, on the whole, exhibit clearly what is considered right and what wrong. .... Material of this kind does not represent a systematic description of the ethnology of the people, but it has the merit of bringing out those points which are of interest to the people themselves. They present in a way an autobiography of the tribe." (1)

[1. Franz Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, Thirty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909-1910 (Washington, D.C., 1916), p. 393.]

121 As to the origin of man, stories vary according to different racial groups. Among these, however, there are points of similarity such as the story of the flood, the rescue of a small number of people favored by the spirits and ghosts, marriages between brothers and sisters, and so on. There are many such stories among the Miao in Kweichow, and in several respects their central theme is rather analogous to that of similar tales among other racial groups elsewhere in the world. The following is an account of some mythological tales among the Hua Miao and the Hê Miao for the reference of ethnologists.

2. The Folklore of the Hua Miao

[115] One day two brothers finished ploughing a field. 539 The next morning they found, to their surprise, that their previous day's work was undone by some people for the field was levelled down as if it had never been ploughed. In their distress and uncertainty they had to plough the field all over again. But the second morning they found that the field was once more levelled. This was repeated four times and they were greatly

[127 cont.]
539 of the parents they were engaged in constant fights. One day the twelve brothers drank together, but the youngest brother filled his gourd with cold water and poured real wine into his brothers' cups. When they were drunk and fast asleep, he lit a pile of straw and pushed his brothers into the fire to be burned alive. After death one brother became Thunder and ascended into the sky; one became a dragon and descended into the water; one became a snake and crept into a hole; one became a tiger and hid himself deep in the woods; one became a weasel and climbed up a hill; the other six all became animals and went away in search of food. When Thunder reached heaven he thought of revenge by sending down a disastrous flood to drown his wicked brother. But the youngest brother managed to reach heaven in time and did not return to earth until after the flood had subsided. One day he met a beautiful young woman, who was his younger sister born afterwards by his mother. They married each other and soon gave birth to an eyeless and noseless monster shaped like a melon. They killed the monster, cut it into twelve pieces and abandoned them on the ground. Unexpectedly each piece of flesh became the ancestor of a Miao tribe, and the last piece was the forefather of the Short-skirt Hê Miao today.

5. Conclusion

773
171 The myths regarding the origin of man are generally alike in substance among the Hê Miao at Pa-chai, the Hua Miao and the Short-skirt Hê Miao. [128] A few points worthy of note are: first, the stories are not related to man's first ancestors after the creation, but to the resuscitation of mankind after the flood. They are not the stories of Adam and Eve but those of Noah. The story of the flood is found in the myths of all these primitive peoples. The Miao are supposed to have originally migrated from Hunan and Kiangsi, and the flood referred to in their myths was probably the legendary flood during the time

[128 cont.]
171 of the great Yü [who finally quelled the flood and was made an
773 emperor]. Although their ancestors might not have lived in the flood devastated valleys, at least through contacts with the Chinese or from Chinese legends they might have gotten the stories. These referred to the use of iron knives, iron pieces, needles, and other metals. So if iron was only first used during the Ch'un Ch'iu period [spring and autumn, an historical period from 722 to 484 B.C.], this body of folklore must have originated after that period. In all these stories the surviving brother and sister eventually got married. Anthropologists have informed us that marriage between brother and sister was early tabooed among all ethnic groups, and that violations were considered serious perversions of nature and human relationship. Among the royal families in ancient Egypt, Peru, Japan and India such marriages were permitted at first to preserve the purity of the royal blood, but soon this custom was abolished. The incestuous marriages in the Miao myths have shown that the sisters were the unwilling parties, who yielded only after much persuasion and reluctance. It is apparent that at the time these mythological tales became current, unions between brothers and sisters were no longer in vogue or already under ban. Otherwise, there is no reason why these marriages should be consummated only after the fulfillment of some impossible conditions. According to eugenic reports marriages within the family are detrimental to the offspring. The children born of a marriage between brother and sister may have the beautiful looks of Cleopatra of ancient Egypt, but statistically considered they are in the majority weak of mind and body. In the mythologies of the Hê Miao and Hua Miao, the children of such marriages were all crippled monsters. Among the Ya-ch'ieh Miao there is a similar story, in which the offspring was not only without four limbs but also dumb. This genetical fact had already been noticed by these primitive peoples. We do not know whether there was ever a custom among the Chinese of marriage between brother and sister, but in any case at the Ch'un Ch'iu period incestuous marriage [129] was banned because of its "non-productivity" and "disease-giving

[129 cont.]

171 773 nature." The reform in the Miao marriage system probably did not antedate the reform in the Chinese marriage system. This also attests to the fact that their mythologies were shaped after the Ch'un Ch'iu period, or at least that they underwent many changes later.

174 From these myths we can gather some material regarding the origin of fire. We know that fire used by the primitive people originated from natural sources, such as forest fires resulting from lightning, fire from volcanoes, and other causes such as spontaneous combustion of withered leaves. This kind of natural fire was preserved and used by man. Later, man learned how to obtain fire through artificial means and the use of fire became more extensive. There were two methods of obtaining fire, one by striking an object and the other through friction. Which of these methods came first is a question not yet satisfactorily solved. American anthropologists have abundant material from the American Indians to show that the method of friction preceded the method of striking. According to the mythology of 174 372 the Hua Miao, fire was obtained by hitting a piece of iron against a rock, which is clearly the method of striking. Of course it does not have to depend upon a piece of metal. In fact the making of fire through artificial means long antedated the iron age. Flints hitting each other could always yield sparks of fire, and the story of the metal piece was evidently introduced later by the Miao. In any case they provide an evidence that with the Miao striking preceded friction in making fire. At the same time it illustrates that the development of fire varied with localities, and did not necessarily follow a definite procedure as held by the classical school. This is a point in anthropology worthy of our attention.

114 (This article was first published in the "She-hui hsün-k'an" [Social Studies, a publication appearing every ten days], Nos. 4-5, of the Kwei-yang Ke-ming Jih-pao [Kwei-yang Revolutionary Times], May 19, 1938, and has been slightly revised in its present form.)

[146 cont.]
773 part in other activities still remains with the Sheng Miao today.
776 Thunder, dragon, tiger, and rocks are all important objects of worship, to which they sacrifice devoutly as if these were gods. Thunder especially is considered as a majestic god, and every
[821] time when thunder roars in the heavens they would immediately stop work and inquire who has provoked his anger for fear that the dreaded flood in their mythology would descend upon them again. Every year during the time of spring thunder, there is
[796] held a special ritual called "genhou," when all work is stopped for three days to avert the disaster from heaven.

4. The story of a monstrous birth through incestuous mar-
● 171 riage which serves to limit consanguineous marriage, is com-
773 mon with most primitive peoples. The foregoing myth also tells of a melon-shaped child born of a wedlock between En and Mei, who are brother and sister. It is conceded by many historians that marriages among the earliest peoples were incestuous. In the mythology of the Sheng Miao the brother and sister got married because mankind was destroyed by the flood, and they had no alternative but to marry each other even though they were fully aware of the impropriety of the union. The marriage was advised by an old dame and a little insect, who told them to proceed from opposite directions, each holding an umbrella and with leaves covering up their eyes, and upon meeting, to call each other "lao piao" [lit., old cousin]. In a similar way when a brother and sister among the savage people of Polynesia are united in marriage, they call each other "pu-na-lu-ya" (dear ones) instead of brother and sister. [147] Nevertheless it was an incestuous marriage, and the melon child was the result. The fact that today there is still such a conception among
773 the Sheng Miao shows the existence of this marriage system in the past. Although they now avoid marriages between the same surnames and between people of the same village, the
[177] acquisition of their surnames from the Chinese is comparatively
[551] of recent origin. Moreover, their acceptance of marriages
[588] between cousins makes us suspect that there are still cases of incestuous union among them.

[162 cont.]

534 They construct a musical instrument of an entirely special model called "sen," a sort of "pipe of Pan," formed of a tube which swells out very much in its lower portion. Into this swollen section are fitted six or eight reed pipes of varying lengths, pierced with holes and set at right angles to the large tube. The player obtains continuous sounds by successive aspirations and expirations. The scale is rather extended, as it provides from twelve to sixteen notes and numerous cords. The player of the "sen" dances while playing. (See photo 155, Plate 40.) The "sen" of the "Méo" very much re- [171] sembles the Laotian "ken."

The "Méo" also make tambourines, copper cymbals, a sort of [237] bagpipe with a nasal sound, produced by a goatskin sack of voluminous dimensions, and a small guitar with a long neck, made from a turtle's shell covered with a tightly stretched snake's skin.

631 In the area which gave them birth, the "Méo" were, without doubt, formed into groupings placed under the orders of chiefs of 648 their race and preserving a certain independence in relation to the neighboring Chinese authorities. In the matter of the tribes who have immigrated into Tonkin, they have had to place themselves little by little under the authority of local native functionaries and of the commandants of sectors, spheres, and provinces.

In accordance with the importance of their groupings, these tribes are organized into communes (region of Dong-Van) placed under the authority of a "toung-tcha" (corresponding to "ly-truong Thai") in direct contact with the chiefs of canton ("quan-châu") or with the commandants of sectors. These communes are subdivided into quarters commanded by a "ping-t'éou" who has under his orders a certain number of "siao-phay," the latter having, in general, authority over the groups of hamlets or villages built in the same valley or on the same slope of a mountain chain. [163] In the regions where the "Méo" population is too scattered to form a distinct commune, the "Méo" have only some "siao-phay" and sometimes a "ping-t'éou" placed administratively under the authority of the "pho-ly" or of the "ly-truong" of the "Thai" race.

39: Bernatzik--64 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
AKha A04
Miao AES

/37 cont./

A M 571 114 Witek (1). Aside from the fact that it is on the whole

1. Page 156.

problematical to use the concept "original culture" in connection with a people living today, it is especially inappropriate in the case of a people with such a highly developed and complicated social and political organization as the Meau. It also seems to me that the remark by Seidenfaden (2), that the Meau

M [171]

2. Page 167.

follow the Chinese and the Han with regard to a good way of life and the organization of the family, is correct only if qualified.

/38/

Chapter 6

Political Organization

a) Organization of the Greater Community

M 631 From the historical traditions of the Meau (cf. the chapter, "History") it is shown without any doubt that they formerly had a tightly organized kingship. Even today major political units are said to exist in the lands neighboring Thailand. Concerning the French territories, Lajonquière reports (1): "In

Page 320.

M [148] regions where Meau groups have congregated, they are subdivided into tribes which, freeing themselves from the mediation of the communal chiefs of the Tho (Thai), negotiate directly with the quanchau or chiefs of the sectors. In general they form aggregates and live independent of the communities of those peoples on whose land they dwell. These aggregates

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/67 cont./

M 526 "pride themselves on exhibiting their physical superiority by frequently wrestling or by comparing skill and strength in the execution of a task or the swiftness and strength of their calves in climbing difficult paths. . . ," observations that Abadie (2) repeats.

2. Page 151.

A [526] Footraces and wrestling according to special rules are unknown, however, among the Meau and Akha in Thailand.

A 526 Among the Akha competitive games are scarcely practiced. Only once did I watch a shooting match with crossbows among them; on the other hand, fighting without any rules is generally widespread.

M 524 /68/ Guessing games are little practiced among the Meau and are completely absent among the Akha.

A [524] tsă mĭ sŭ is one of the few Meau guessing games. In it a child takes, let us say, a lamp in his hand and asks another, who must not look: "What is this? It is a rider on horseback without feet or eyes and yet able to see?" The answer runs: "It is a light on your arm; it has no eyes or feet, but reaches into every corner."

tŭ is another guessing game. Grain, copper, and a coin are placed next to a child who does not look. He must now guess what the object is.

A M 524 I did not find any humorous riddle games /Scherzspiele/, teasing games /Neckspiele/, or war games. It is strange, too, that among both peoples string games, which otherwise are widespread throughout the world, are completely absent. Aside from the aforementioned shooting matches and footraces of the Meau, there are no other sporting games, even in rudimentary form, nor games that would point toward sadistic or masochistic tendencies. 526 157

A M 524 526 It is striking that many games of these mountain peoples of Farther India are absolutely identical with the games of the children of fully civilized European peoples /europäischen Vollkulturvölker/. This is all the more remarkable since there

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/68 cont./

A M 524 526 171 is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can there be any thought of influences coming from Europe. Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the frequent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect a common origin.

A M 541 171 [525] There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are sometimes arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks, as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples. Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A M 857 561 [252] Children begin to perform work at the age of four among both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect firewood (Ill. 38), which they carry home in their own small wood /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields, carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93), and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers, a particularly important task in a country where there is neither mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A M 857 561 461 Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games, there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[See cat. 116, P 272 - ANALYST]
[" " " , P 643 - "]

AKha AO4
Miao AE5

/142 cont./

M 539 832 A lover to whom favors were granted often sings of his luck in many successive sentences: "Now I have to leave your village, and whenever I remember your embraces, my soul will be happy. Now I must leave, but I shall think only of returning. My soul wanders in the clouds (meaning: you have bewitched me) and not on earth. And when I return and hold your hand, I shall not be able to stop the flow of words until the end of my life (meaning: he will take her as his wife for life). What are you going to give me then to fill my soul and to stop the flow of my words? (a clear allusion to the sexual act, the only moment when the lovers are silent). Whatever you give me I shall give back to you all my life long."

M 533 In these songs rhythm plays no role, and melody only a minor one. The words are produced in a high-pitched voice with wholly /143/ unrelated high notes. Even while traveling M [484] no rhythm is maintained and marching in our sense is unknown to these peoples. There is singing, however, on every occasion: upon setting out to hunt, in connection with the preparations for the caravan when it is necessary to look for new village sites, in connection with bringing in the harvest, and in connection with housework. Lajonquière (1) reports similarly on the Meau.

1. II, p. 311.

There are no professional singers or bards, and similarly no epics heroic songs, or war songs, which formerly, at least among the Meau, were probably present. In any case, however, they cannot be found today. On the other hand, I was able to A [533] find two melodies among the Meau and one among the Akha to which texts similar to our Alpine "ditties" are sung. Often, however, the performer only sings words which happen to come into his head.

M [171] The sound of the songs of the Meau is very reminiscent of the "joiken" of the Lapps (2), although in the case of the

2. Bernatzik, VI, pp. 78 ff.

A M 533 832 joiken there are no words. Alternate songs to which texts are

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/143 cont./

A M 533 [832] [854] sung, such as the examples given above, are customary among the Akha as well as among the Meau, but always between the different sexes. During them they often hold hands for hours and look into each other's eyes. Solo singing, on the other hand, is done at every possible opportunity, for instance, when the mother rocks her baby to sleep, when the father carries his son around on his back.

A [535] [832] A M [177] Polyphonic singing in our sense is unknown; unison-singing is practiced only by the Akha and exclusively by the girls during their wooing dances. Several girls always sing and dance simultaneously (Ill. 24[1]) and thereby attract the attention of the young men at the dancing places with their erotic songs. Songs or melodies are in no case borrowed from neighboring tribes.

All these observations show that both tribes, but especially the Meau, are artistically talented in various directions, which has already been said in the section on "Art in the Life of the Children" (the chapter, "Life in the Community"). When M 114 533 538 Dhuraratsadorn (3) writes that "the Meau do not know any

3. Page 132.

stories or fairy tales, and have no /144/ special liking for singing or poetry, it can only be the result of some misunderstanding (see also the chapter, "Myths and Fairy Tales").

Musical Instruments

M 534 [533] That the Meau love music can be seen from their predilection for singing. Moreover, they have musical instruments and use gongs, rattles, and wind instruments. Their love of music is confirmed by Lajonquière (1), as well as by

1. II, p. 311.

M [237] 114 [171] Abadie (2). The latter also speaks of a small long-necked

2. Page 168.

1 [See ad 116, p124 - ANALYST]

/144 cont./

534 guitar with a body made of turtle shell which is covered with
[287] snail's skin /Schneckenhaut/, but I found such instruments
114 only among the neighboring Thai peoples, and not among the
171 Meau.

All wind instruments are blown with the mouth, not with the nose, and, with the exception of the simple rod flute /Stabflöte/ (Figs. 24 and 25), are vibration instruments. The tone is produced by making a metal or wooden diaphragm
171 vibrate. The mouth organ (Fig. 26) the characteristic instru-
533 ment, in a somewhat modified form, for almost all the peoples
534 of Thailand, has been developed in its most ingenious and largest
[778] form (Ill. 75) among the Meau. It is regarded as a sacral instrument (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section on "Cult and Taboo") whose tone is pleasing to the spirits. Usually many mouth organs are played simultaneously, and such mouth-organ concerts are altogether pleasing even to European ears and resound over many kilometers in the solitude
[562] of the mountains. Whereas among the Lahu, men as well as women play the mouth organ, this art is reserved exclusively for the men among the Meau, and among them the mouth organ, which is often made out of gourd shells among the other mountain tribes of Farther India, is carved carefully and solidly out of wood, usually mahogany, and is often mounted with silver.
534 The wooden body consists of two symmetrical halves, which are precisely fitted together and wound with bamboo strips, and the joints are smeared with buffalo fat. The holes for the pipes are burned into this wooden body, perpendicular to the joints, with a red-hot piece of metal, and, as the first pipe, the thickest one is inserted, the one /145/ identified as No. 6 in the drawing (Fig. 26). Pipe 5 is inserted next to pipe 6; its tone is a fourth lower. Pipe 3 follows, opposite No. 6, and is a fifth lower; then pipe 4, which is a fourth higher than pipe 3, then pipe 2, which is one octave lower than 6, and, finally, pipe 1, which is a seventh lower than 6.

4 [see cat. 116, p 574 - ANALYST]

/147/

534 [171] Sounding stones, sounding sticks, slit drums, xylophones of any kind, rattles, or whirring instruments are found just as little as stringed instruments, which play an important role among the Thai peoples living in the valley. Similarly there are no instruments that could be [202] used for communication over great distances. On the other [177] hand, hide drums, presumably of Chinese or Laotian origin, as well as small bronze gongs (Fig. 30), which, along with [75] rattles (Fig. 31) are used by the shamans, are occasionally [196] found. Both instruments, like the mouth organs, are ceremonial paraphernalia which are heard during the death and sacrificial ceremonies, /Figs. 30 and 31 appear here/ as well as at the spirit-questioning, the driving out of evil spirits, and, finally, during the New Year's celebration. Only the bronze gong also finds use as an alarm device.

[202]

28 29

Fig. 28-29.
Vibrating flute of the Meau. 1/9 nat. size. Fig. 28, from above, Fig. 29, side view and blow-hole.

533 Each class of the instruments named is always used by itself; combining different instruments into an orchestra is unknown. Every Meau has a mastery of all the instruments, even though not always as a virtuoso, but there are real masters among them, although no professional musicians.

231 534 177 Draft cattle and horses often have bells hanging on them. There are bamboo bells (Fig. 32), whose central piece of bamboo acts as the resonance chamber. To the left and right of it, in two fork-shaped pieces of bamboo, hang clappers of the same material, which strike the resonance

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/149 cont./

c) Dancing

A
M
535
[171]

In the cult of the Meau, dancing plays an important role, as it does among the Akha, Lahu, and Lisu.

The Akha, like the Meau, know only one men's dance, which Abadie (1) as well as Lajonquière (2) confirm for the

1. Page 169.

2. II, p. 311.

Meau, while women's dances are not known at all among the Meau. The dance consists of quick turns and twists of the body; from time to time the dancer goes into a squatting position and then makes great leaps. Without paying any attention to the number of dancers present, each one moves independently while playing on his mouth organ, whose construction, as /150/ has been described, permits playing without pause. I never witnessed a dance where the mouth organ was not played.

M
114
535
796
[764]

The dance of the Meau is purely a cult dance, and therefore the use of the sacral mouth-organ calls for the dance movements, and the latter, in turn, require the musical accompaniment. As was stated in the chapter, "Life in the Community," section on "Old Age and Death," Lajonquière (1) asserts that in

1. II, p. 318.

some areas the coffin is carried to the grave in a kind of dance step. This would be the only occasion on which several Meau dancing at the same time execute the same dance movement. Furthermore the same author (2) states: The Meau dance when

2. II, p. 312.

M
[273]

they are in a good mood, for instance, on market days, when they customarily imbibe heartily. They also dance in connection with certain ceremonies, for instance, a burial..." I was unable to confirm the first assertion; on the other hand,

/166 cont./

776 825 [372] [626] [171] The spirit of fire is called tă hŏ lŭ pĭn. It is his function to take care of the fire. He would feel offended if one were to step over a fire, and he would take revenge in such a case by sending a tiger that would devour the perpetrator. Telford (1)

Page 133.

reports that the Meau and the Yau in western China, in the region of Tschieng /167/ Hung in Yunnan, believe in a bush spirit, Pe Tum Moi. Anyone who goes into the bush, especially to fetch water or firewood, has to be wary of him, because in the daytime this spirit changes into a frog, which, if it is put in a cage, disappears during the night. It is said that Pe Tum Moi commonly appears to human beings in the shape of a tiger that devours men and horses.

776 [844] I discovered a pair of spirits that appear only at the birth of a child. Corresponding to the fact that this pair only has a joint effect, it also has only a joint name: me yĕn.

[778] [756] The spirit sŭ kăn is able to increase money and property. Many Meau and all shamans erect a small altar for him in their houses. In addition to the helpful spirits already mentioned, there are a great many of them for the most varied spheres. What superhuman capacities these spirits have over and above the familiar activity, however, is unknown to the people. Individual spirits for individual persons are in any case in the minority, and there are no tutelary spirits that have to attend to a single person, so to speak.

[753] Lajonquière (1) writes of "evil spirits that may enter the

II, p. 313.

human body in order to cause sickness. They live in the interior of the earth. They are the souls of the beheaded or of the unburied dead." [177] [829] In Thailand I was unable to find confirmation of this conception, which can probably be traced back to Chinese influence. I discovered in general that the Meau in Thailand

/190 cont./

224 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping
787 at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes
825 that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp
825 /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly [821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there
754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although
829 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the [756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he
[171] dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

/227 cont./

539 756 to revive their dry bones. Mad with grief, they threw their medicine into a cave and decided to die. Their countrymen tried in vain to prevent them from doing so. They did not succeed, but Ngionggi and Xigi consoled them by saying: 'After our death shall appear to some of you in your dreams in the shape of a virgin and teach you how to cure the sick. Consult these men when you are ill, and you will recover!' Since that time the Meau consult their shamans whenever they are sick."

539 114 I could not find any legends that tell of the historical development of the Meau, nor have other authors, so far as I know, published such legendary material. Only Von Eickstedt (2)

2. II, p. 52.

recorded a legend of the Meau, and a similar version is also reported by Leuschner (3). Von Eickstedt asserts that it is a Man

171 539

3. Page 44.

legend, which, however, is also claimed by the Meau:

/228/ "The Chinese emperor Ti Ku (about 500 B. C.) is said to have promised the hand of his third daughter and the advantages accruing from this to the one who would rid him of his most dangerous enemy, who would kill the latter and bring his head. A yellow dog by the name of Pan Hu heard this, accomplished the deed, and married the princess, who bore him six sons and six daughters. From these stem the various Man tribes. A division of the realm took place, according to which the Chinese were given the valleys and the Man the mountains."

Von Eickstedt correctly concludes that when the Chinese, during an attack by presumably northern warlike nomads, turned to the neighboring mountain peoples for help and the latter actually defeated the enemy, the chief of the mountain peoples was given a daughter of the imperial house along with the political advantages connected with it.

Miao AE5
Akha AO4

/228 cont./

M
171
539

Now it follows, however, that this legend belongs to the culture of the Yau (Man) and not to that of the Meau, though it is, of course, quite possible that the Meau, who in Indochina and Thailand often live in the immediate neighborhood of other tribes, have borrowed cultural elements from their neighbors. It is noteworthy for the general ethnology of Farther India that similar motifs may be found among other hoe-culture peoples, as well as in the legends of the gathering people, the Moken /Mawken/, the inhabitants of the Mergui Archipelago, on which I have published in another place (1).

1. IV, p. 45.

A
773

The Akha, like the Meau, have no concrete conception of the creation of the world and the natural phenomena. Myths concerning this are lacking.

A
[82]
789

I was able to find only a single exception, a moon myth. It indicates that an eclipse of the moon causes great alarm since it is believed that a dog is about to devour the moon. To prevent this, crossbows and firearms are fired at the sky.

[114]

I could not find any more detailed information in the literature either. Scott (2) mentions in passing that, during the

2. Burma and beyond, p. 270.

festivals of the Akha, "clan legends" were recited so that they will not forget them. Unfortunately, however, he does not give a single legend.

/260 cont./

166 484 If the path forks, the head carefully puts branches over the path, by means of which those following can see the direction in which they must continue.

[201] In general, if there is no compelling reason such as war, [361] epidemics, crop failure as a result of rice diseases, and the like, [731] a migration is never farther than a half of at most a full day's march from the old village.

/261/ During the migration one always tries to reach the desired goal by the shortest route. Winding paths are taken only if there are pack animals, and then only as many as are absolutely necessary in order to prevent a breakdown of the animals. Otherwise, it goes straight uphill and then continues along the crest line; upon reaching the end, it goes straight down again, across the valley and usually through a brook, and then again climbs up the next mountain ridge. -- This kind of migration [171] differs fundamentally from that of the Thai peoples, who always, as far as is in any way possible, follow the brook beds in the valleys and, when that is no longer feasible, cross the mountain by the shortest route, in order to reach the brook bed again on the other side. The manner in which the Meau travel reminds one very much of that of the Lapps and makes European ideas seem positively ridiculous. They walk very fast and rest [481] often. In no time a water pipe is carved out of bamboo and [312] makes the rounds, or a stub pipe of wood is lighted (see the chapter "Food and Stimulants"). Water is drunk from every little brook that is reached. Nevertheless they rapidly push onward.

During the migration the intimate association with the natural surrounding is clearly evident. They are constantly looking for useful objects. Whether it be lianas whose fibers will [283] later be twisted into ropes, or those that, cut into strips, will [285] later serve as plaiting material, in no time they are lopped off, rolled up, and fastened to the packsaddle. A squirrel is killed with a well-aimed shot of the crossbow and stowed away in the [224] pack bag; perhaps even a muntjac is bagged. The latter rarely happens, however, for, although otherwise they stalk game as soundlessly as wildcats while hunting, on a migration it is as though all the evil spirits were let loose. The shouting, hooting,

/262 cont./

M 166 484 Concerning the migrations of the Meau in Indochina, Savina (3) reports: "When the Meau move, they burn their

3. II. p. 183.

M [482] houses; others let them fall into ruins. The small children are put into carrying baskets with the chickens and suckling pigs. When everything is ready, the signal for the departure is given, and everybody begins to move without the slightest sign of sentiment or excitement. Nobody turns around in order to cast a last glance at the village. The Meau say: Our home is where the maize grows thickly."

M 361 [171] A [361] The villages of the Meau in Thailand have a very small number of houses. These are hamlets which consist of three to ten houses. This is also the size of the villages of the Yau /Yao/. The villages of the Lisu come next with four to twenty houses; the village settlements of the Akha have by far the greatest number of houses -- several hundred.

In the literature (4) there are accounts of Meau villages

4. Savina, II, p. 182.

which are said to contain from 20 to 30 houses. In Thailand I could not find any settlements that large, and Dhuraratsadorn (5),

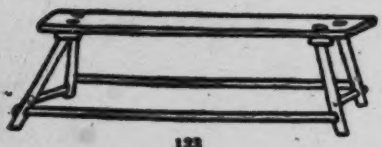
5. Page 153.

too, who /263/ answered a questionnaire on the Meau prepared by the Siam Society, says nothing about such large Meau villages. His observations and my own correspond to Lajonquière"s (1)

1. II, p. 304.

statement: "With their attitude of independence, the Meau prefer not to have their dwellings crowded together... There are only groupings of six, seven, or eight houses around the dwelling of

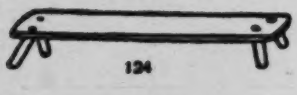
/302 cont./ 352 [511] [516] [264] the customary squatting position on mats on the floor (Ill. 106).[1] Sometimes, too, only the adults are entitled to the table and bench, whereas the children eat their meals on the floor. Tables and benches (Ill. 107)[1] have strong slabs hewn out of one piece of wood, into which slanting wooden legs are inserted (Figs. 123 and 124). This furniture differs fundamentally from [171] that of the Chinese and is almost identical with the tables and benches of our Alpine dwellers. Among the Meau, low wooden stools (Fig. 125) and stools to sit on, with /303/ plaited seats (Fig. 126), are in use, as they are among all the mountain peoples of Farther India.



123

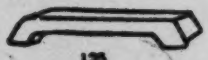
Figs. 123-126. Furniture of the Meau.

Fig. 123. Table, 1/66 nat. size.



124

Fig. 124. Bench for sitting, 1/34 nat. size.



125

Fig. 125. Stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

126

Fig. 126. Plaited stool for sitting, 1/12 nat. size.

[1] [see cat 116, p 706 - ANALYST]

/324 cont./

291 the women and the size and shape of the collar vary according
[184] to age and social position. He further maintains that some-
[554] times, too, the clothing of the men is decorated with em-
[531] broidery and colorful lacing, like that of the women. /Figs. 209-210 appear here./

302 Tattooing, like body painting, is unknown among the Meau.
[304] The headdress of the girls and women among the Meau is completely uniform. The long straight hair is combed upward in the back and twisted into a knot above the forehead (Ill. 87).[2] Since it is regarded as especially beautiful to have as large a hair knot as possible false hair is often twisted into the knot (Ill. 59).[2] Young girls like to wear a wooden comb stuck
[301] in the hair knot (Fig. 209). To comb the hair, women as well
[412] as men use combs with an edge and central piece of wood and teeth of finely split little sheets of bamboo.

I could nowhere find among the Meau visited by me the women's custom of shaving the head as Lajonquière (3) describes

3. II, p. 309.

[756] it. A single exception was the female shaman of a village. This woman wore her hair completely shaved under her turban.

[177] /325/ The headdress of the men is uniform everywhere. In Chinese fashion, they wear their heads shaved for a round spot about six centimeters in size at the back of the head (Ill. 80).[3] The remaining hair is long and is either braided into a tight queue, tied up in a knot, or worn loose (Ills. 52 and 54).[4]

301 Compared with the other Chinese mountain tribes, such
[171] as the Akha, Lahu, Lisu, etc., the Meau wear few ornaments. Nevertheless, the solid silver rings, which are worn around the neck, arms, fingers, and feet, stand out in rich contrast from the dark-blue fabric of their clothing and the colorful embroideries. Quite generally, open, solid silver hoops are worn around the neck (Figs. 211 and 212), which vary in size, weight, and execution, depending on whether they are intended for children, women, or men. Sometimes several neck hoops

[1 [see cat 116, p 620 - ANALYST]
[2 [" " p 448 - "]
[3 [" " p 595 - "]
[4 [see cat 116, pp 365-366 - ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--460 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand

[p 459 is blank]

AKha A04
MiaoAE5

/339/

Chapter 17

Means of Subsistence

a) Gathering

M 222 M [731] A 222 [262] [731] After the harvest the Meau regularly gather wild roots, tubers, and fruits. Beyond this time gathering is done only occasionally, for instance, on hunting expeditions or during migrations. In times of crop failures, however, gathering plays an important role and may even become a necessity for survival. Among the Akha in Thailand, who live under absolutely the same climatic conditions and whose diet, in accordance with their generally greater primitiveness, is less varied than that of the Meau, gathering plays at least an equally important role in times of famine. In years of abundance, on the other hand, it is likewise practiced regularly only after the harvest, but otherwise only occasionally.

b) Hunting

M 224 A [224] M [151] [184] Hunting is of much greater significance than gathering among the Meau and among the Akha. The Meau are excellent observers, have presence of mind, and are animated by a burning passion for the hunt. Since, in addition, they are excellent marksmen and have great patience and endurance, they have all the qualifications for good hunters.

With regard to the Meau in Indochina, who, of course, are in a far better position economically than the mountain peoples on the poor soil in northern Thailand, hunting seems to be less important. Lajonquière (1) writes, for instance:

1. II, p. 311.

M [411] [171] [389] "Hunting is not practiced as a regular means of subsistence but they are nevertheless skilled hunters. They use a gun similar to the one of the 'Man,' which, /340/ like the powder, they make themselves."

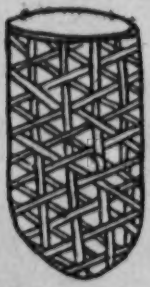
AKha A04
Miao AE5

/353 cont./

A 226 The Akha, too, do not know these fishing methods and are not even familiar with fish poison. Moreover, the Akha are not nearly as passionate about it, but they are likewise good fishermen. Like the Meau, they fish with their hands, A [227] with lines, simple hooks and small hand-nets which resemble the fish nets of the Meau. The net, however, is attached to a perforated wooden hoop (chapter, "Handicrafts," Fig. 406); the meshes of the net are like those of the carrying bags.

d) Agriculture

M 243 [433] [171] Whereas gathering, hunting, and fishing play almost only the role of expanding the food base, agriculture is the actual economic basis of all the mountain peoples of Farther India.



M 178 243 407 Fig. 266 Weir-basket of the Meau, about 1/20 nat. size.

The Meau in Thailand, strangely enough, do not arrange their rice fields in terraces, though their neighbors, the Chinese, are famous masters at it, and this agricultural method makes possible the cultivation of wet rice. Thus, on the steep slopes which, without terraces, also do not permit the use of the plow, only hoe culture remains. There are still living witnesses to the fact that in former times, and to be sure not too long ago, the situation was different in the more northerly habitation sites of the Meau M [227] [285] now settled in Thailand. For instance, I found in northern Thailand a few old Meau who were still familiar with the use of the plow. In answer to my question as to why the use of this implement had been given up, an old chief replied: "This land, and even more the country that we had to pass through to reach our present dwelling sites, is mountainous, stony, and does not permit the use of the plow. In our old homeland, too, there were such regions in which one could not use a plow. In

231 /366/ The pigs are fed regularly every morning and evening. They are given the kitchen refuse, cooked maize, and the stalks, likewise cooked, of young wild banana bushes, which are stripped of their leaves and cut into pieces beforehand.

In second place among the Meau are the cattle which, [262] however, can be raised only where the steep mountain slopes [184] permit it. Cattle-breeding is therefore limited to only a few areas in northern Thailand. Besides the endeavor to obtain [492] meat, cattle are used, where the terrain permits it, as pack animals (Ill. 81), 1 for which the Meau manufacture special [272] saddles (see the chapter, "Communication," Fig. 418). The milk of the cows, however, is not drunk because of an existent taboo, even when its use would save lives (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). The [343] cattle, too, are shut up in stables every evening and occasionally [273] fed there with the residue from the making of alcohol out of maize or with rice husks. Before sunrise the animals are driven out to pasture again. Lajonquière (1), too, commented on

1. II, p. 309.

the cattle-raising practiced by the Meau in comparison with the neighboring tribes: "The Meau are primarily agriculturalists. Nevertheless they raise a few cattle with a care that is generally not found among the mountain inhabitants neighboring them. Their animals are also very handsome."

Besides cattle, small horses are also kept where the terrain [492] permits their use as pack animals. The packsaddles are then the same as those for cattle, and the horses are protected against tigers by having bell-harness hung on them. The pack animals are carefully fed with maize, grass, and hay and are driven to pasture together with the cattle in the dry season. Abadie (2)

2. Page 159.

reports quite similar observations: "The Meau have excellent [171] small horses (average size 1.20 meters, like the horses of the Chinese in Tonkin), strong, modest, very capable, and very

1 [See cat 116, p596 - ANALYST]

/369 cont./

231 [432] "On the other hand, they do sell pigs. Few peoples raise as many pigs as the Meau. They are seen everywhere. In every family there is a pig that is petted and favored by everyone."

[422] I could learn no more about property marks on animals than other authors mention them. Informants whom I questioned explained to me that every owner knows his animals without this.

[171] Whereas most of the other peoples of Farther India practice bee-keeping, I could not find it among the Meau. Other authors, too -- with the exception of Lajonquière (1), who

1. II, p. 310.

mentions them in his enumeration of the domestic animals -- report nothing about this, and the raising of silkworms seems to be just as little known among the Meau of all the regions mentioned. I, too, was unable to find it anywhere.

Among the Meau in Thailand, one sporadically comes across so-called "mandarin blackbirds" /Mandarinenamseln/, which are said to be kept as ornamental birds and traded for high prices.

232 Among the Meau whom I visited, the castration of domestic animals is widespread. This is not limited to pigs, cattle, and horses, but includes even dogs and chickens. The animals are castrated by cutting open the scrotum, tying up the reproductive gland, and sewing up the scrotum again. An exception is made in the case of cattle, whose scrotum is clamped between sticks and smashed with a cudgel. In answer to my question as to why so cruel a procedure is used for them, the Meau were of the opinion that it was nothing for the cattle, that they are much less sensitive to pain than horses.

39: Bernatzik--503 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/372/

Chapter 18

Food and Stimulants

a) Food

262 In addition to the plants and animals mentioned in the preceding chapter, a great assortment of plants and roots from the primeval forest furnishes food for the Meau. One can say that the Meau eat the plants that they know and that bring no harm to the body. The Meau are positively eager to find out [824] which plants and fruits can be used by them. When, on their migrations, they come across a plant as yet unknown to them, leaves are immediately torn off, the fruits are smelled, and there is a discussion about how they could be used. The taste which the Meau develop in this way does not by any means correspond to our European taste, and they often consumed with obvious relish fruits of forest trees which were completely unpalatable to my European taste. The same can be said of the animals which are eaten. Even the civet cat, to whose meat a penetrating odor clings, is eaten, as well as beetle larvae, turtles, frogs, and toads. Besides the honey of wild bees, their larvae and pupae, as well as those of wasps and hornets, are eaten, and the latter two are even regarded as delicacies. In contrast, it is strange that all lizards, which occur in great numbers in northern Thailand, are disdained, whereas other [171] peoples settled there, the Lawa for instance, eat them with [266] passion. Among the things that are not eaten by the Meau are also snakes, worms, and human flesh. On the other hand, literally all the birds that the Meau are able to catch are eaten.

252 This wide selection of basic material is matched among [515] the Meau by the many ways of preparation. In this they are thoroughly clean, which is in strong contrast to the condition of the kitchens and houses. As /373/ a rule, it is the women, [462] who occupy themselves with the preparation of meals; if there is much work to be done, however, or if the women cannot do it for other reasons, say, pregnancy or childbirth, the men, too, occasionally cook.

262 /374 cont./
252 Bamboo sprouts, which are cut up and cooked in water/
[351] are very popular. Furthermore, both in the rice fields and in
[245] the small house-gardens, the Meau plant bananas and pomelos, which are only eaten raw, whereas bananas are also roasted or fried in fat. In the gardens or in the poppy fields three varieties
263 of pepper are cultivated, which, like the hot chilies and a whole series of wild fruits, likewise dried and pulverized, are used as spices.

251 The Meau also preserve meat, and, to be sure, either by
[317] /375/ salting it or they let it dry in the sun or smoke it over the
[135] fire. Although salt springs occur naturally in northern Thailand
[171] and the Meau can also observe how the neighboring Lao obtain
[439] salt at such places, the salt needed is purchased from the traders (see the chapter, "Trade") and not obtained locally.

252 Sugar cane is either eaten raw or sugar is made from it,
[262] which plays an important role among the Meau. For this the sugar cane is peeled and cut into small pieces and pounded in the rice mortar. The mass is then cooked for hours in large pans until it is brown and begins to harden.

The Meau also know how to prepare yeast. For this purpose the granular seeds of a leafy plant are pulverized and kneaded to a dough with water. Some of the residue from the last alcohol distillation is added, and everything is left to ferment together for three or four days. Now the mass is dried
[251] in the sun or over the fire and finally poured into bamboo flasks where it is said to keep, ready for use, up to two years.

From all these ingredients, and, I might say, basic foods, the Meau know how to make many composite dishes, a number of which can be called national dishes.

[262] For festive days cakes (tsuă) are made, three kinds of which are known.

1. Glutinous rice is ground to a fine flour. Now one takes nine parts of this flour and mixes it with one part of cooked and ground tubers. With the addition of water and a little sugar, the dough is kneaded, out of which small flat loaves about 12 centimeters in diameter are made. These are wrapped in green leaves and steamed.

/376 cont./

252 The blood of slaughtered animals, either fresh or cooked,
262 is happily eaten. Cooked, it is also added to other dishes.

A meatless dish consists of ground millet which is mixed with green vegetables and maize meal to form dumplings and cooked in water.

252 The eggs of all birds are eaten raw or cooked.

/377/ Without anything further, it is obvious from these descriptions that the preparation of the meals can indeed not be designated as primitive. It can be assumed that in the regions of Indochina, which are in every respect more favorable, the Meau will not practice simpler cooking, since more things in larger quantities are available to them. Nevertheless, Lajonquière (1) writes: "The preparation of food is primitive.

1. II, p. 303.

Rice, maize, and the other cereals are eaten cooked in salted water or made into mush. Vegetables are usually cooked in water, and meat is roasted in kettles. We shall always remember our first visit to the kitchen of the Lytruong of Pakha. There, whole quarters of buffalo were roasting and cooking in tremendous kettles, without any other ingredients than a few handfuls of salt, a little water, and their own fat. It was immense in quantity, but ignoble in preparation."

[114
171] Aside from the fact that the author probably did not observe the preparation of food in detail, he is undoubtedly comparing Meau cooking with Chinese cooking, or with Annamese cooking, which is extensively influenced by the Chinese. In comparison with the excellent and highly sophisticated culinary art of these peoples, Meau cooking seems primitive indeed.

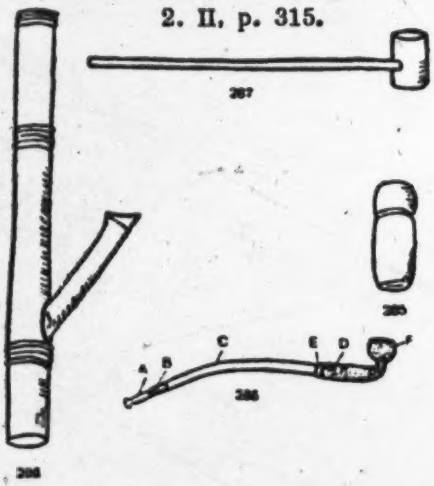
264 From Savina's description (2) we get an impression of

2. II, p. 192.

the everyday, very modest way of life of the Meau: "The Meau have two meals a day, one in the morning before going to the fields and one in the evening upon return. Often,

/380 cont./

276
[171] The Meau know of no other form of enjoyment of tobacco, such as the rolling of cigars or cigarettes, which is customary among the Lao and Schan /Shan/. Other plants, such as the hemplike ones, are not smoked either. Savina (2), 2. II, p. 315.



Figs. 285-288. Equipment for Tobacco-smoking among the Meau.

[415] Fig. 285. Tobacco box of bamboo, with cover, 1/7 nat. size. Fig. 286. Tobacco pipe of the chief, about 1/7 nat. size: A = mouthpiece of porcelain; B = silver mounting; C = stem; D = brass; E = sealed with wax. Fig. 287. Tobacco pipe of bamboo, 1/4 nat. size. Fig. 288. Water pipe of bamboo, 1/7 nat. size.

[857] however, reports that the Meau children in Tonkin smoke discarded hemp-stalks. It seems, however, that this is more of a game, rather than real enjoyment of the drug. The chewing of betel is unknown, which Lajonquière (1) /see footnote 1 above/ confirms for Indochina.

Miao AE5

/403 cont./

283 which are called kǒulǐ, but then sticks about as thick as a finger are stuck in the ground in two rows one to two meters apart, and the yarn is now wound between them in skeins ready for weaving.

286 The yarn thus prepared is woven on horizontal looms (Ill. 88) into strips of material 37 centimeters wide (Ill. 89).

The weaver's comb of the loom has either a frame made of two wooden sticks between which the thin, flexible cross-strips of bamboo are held and tied fast (Fig. 352), or the frame consists of bamboo tubes with iron bands (Fig. 353), into which /404/ the cross-sticks are inserted. The threads are then drawn between these narrow cross-sticks.

Besides these looms, the Meau also use weaving boards to make narrower bands.

Figs. 352-353. Weaver's Combs of the Meau.

Fig. 352, of wood with bamboo cross-strips; Fig. 353, of bamboo with iron cross-strips.

Concerning this work, we also have some reports by Lajonquière (1), which in part are confirmed by Abadie:

1. II, p. 309.

"The common spinning material is hemp. It is harvested in [248] the lowlands, wound on spools, and combed with coarse combs. [283] The women spin it by hand... They weave their own cloth [171] and dye it in the same manner as the Tho." Savina (2) describes [184]

2. II, p. 211.

the procedures in Indochina somewhat differently: "When the

1 [See cat 116, p 621 - ANALYST]
2 [" " p 622 - "]

/404 cont./

286 [184] [171] spinning is finished, they bleach the thread with lime and stretch it for weaving on primitive frames that are quite similar to those of the Thai and Chinese. It is believed that these frames are of Chinese origin. They make a coarse, wrinkled, and strong cloth, which they make soft and shiny by means of polished roller-stones."

[114] [171] [177] I must indeed oppose Savina's opinion that the looms of the Meau are similar to those of the Chinese or of the other mountain peoples mentioned by him or are even of Chinese origin. At any rate, this is not true for the Meau in northern Thailand!

386 [294] The strips of fabric produced on the looms are sewed together by the Meau to make their clothing, after which the dyeing process or the art of batik work (already mentioned by Yü Chuluan) commences. The dyestuff is obtained from a 249 386 leafy plant more than a meter high, not, however, indigo, that thrives near water in moist, swampy soil. The Meau plant the shoots in the same manner as they plant sugar cane. Since the plant is a perennial, it can be harvested year after year. The 386 cut, green plant is put in water for two nights and one day, then the plant parts are removed, slaked lime is added to the solution remaining, and it is stirred vigorously. Now four handfuls of this solution mixed with lime is added to a large trough of water, whereupon the dyeing can begin. This process is simple. The material is dipped into the water and carefully soaked completely. Then it is allowed to dry, is checked to see whether the desired blue shade /405/ has been obtained, and the process is repeated until the color is satisfactory.

386 531 [413] Much more art and skill is required to provide the material with batik patterns. For this a design in wax is put on the still undyed material by the women with a special instrument consisting of a wooden handle and a three-edged brass pen (Figs. 354 and 355), from the crevices of which the applied wax flows, and, to be sure, in such a way that the negative /Figs. 354-355 appear here/ of the pattern desired is drawn on with the wax. In doing this, the woman holds the

/409 cont./

325 [237] put into the mold. The crucible remains open, and a piece of stag's horn is placed over the opening; it burns and, according to the Meau, is supposed to make the molten metal white and homogeneous. The crucible thus filled is now solidly encased in charcoal, and the bellows are set in motion. Soon the metal begins to melt. Some tobacco is sprinkled over the molten silver in order to prevent oxidation. The film of tobacco and ashes which forms on the silver is blown away with a small tube, and the molten, pure silver is poured into a bar-shaped mold. Before further use the silver bar thus produced is heated slightly and then shaped with a hammer. The [824] finished products are ground with stones and finally boiled and polished with the juice of lemons or other wild, acid plants. [413] In certain instances, ornaments are cut out, and, to be sure, for this the chisel is used, whereas files are unknown. Strangely [171] enough, the Meau in Thailand in contrast to the other mountain peoples of Farther India, are not familiar with any chased work.

[177] [439] /410/ Copper and brass, usually from broken vessels that came from China, undergo a process similar to that used for silver. Both metals are procured directly or indirectly from China, as is lead, which is traded in slabs five centimeters thick and ten centimeters wide.

The iron purchased as bar-iron is used for the manufacture of weapons, knives, tools, and the springs for the gunlocks. For this purpose, the iron is hardened by hammers. Wire- [414] drawing is unknown, and the Meau do not produce any nails or screws. Buttons, ornaments, and decorations on knives and [531] guns are made out of silver, the magic rings (see the chapter, [301] "Religion and Magic," the section, 'Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens") out of copper, and finally the metal parts of mouth organs out of brass, whereas lead is used exclusively for the manufacture of bullets. The Meau do not make metal alloys from the metals used by them, and even [323] clay forms for casting are unknown, since pottery is unknown.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/421/

A 487 [361] [464] The paths in the territory of the Akha are wide and kept in good condition, as is shown by Ill. 31.[1] The difference lies in the fact that among the Akha the villages are very populous and their paths are therefore more frequented. Moreover, every village settlement of the Akha has a much greater labor force at its disposal than the villages of the Meau.

M 482 The primary means of communication among the Meau is porters who transport loads on their backs on carriers (see the chapter, "House Furnishings, Household and Kitchen Utensils," Figs. 178-180) or in baskets (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 330, 333, and 336), which are carried, in the fashion of our rucksacks, without a forehead strap (Ill. 93).[2] Wherever M 492 the nature of the terrain permits, the Meau also use, as has already been discussed in the chapter, "Means of Subsistence," the section, "Animal Husbandry," small reddish-brown cattle or small horses as /Figs. 418-422 appear here/ /422/ pack animals, which for this are provided with a special packsaddle (Ill. 81)[3] which is the same for both breeds.

The packsaddle (Figs. 418 and 419) consists of a wooden frame (A), on which a board (B) is mounted. Under the board is fastened a straw-filled cushion (C), which lies on the crupper M [283] of the animal. This packsaddle is fastened on by means of a strong strap (D), about five centimeters wide and plaited out of fiber cords, around the body of the animal. In addition, a hide strap (Fig. 420, G) with iron buckles (H), which is fastened to the packsaddle, leads around the chest of the animal, and a cord with wooden balls strung on it (Fig. 421, E), which come under the tail of the animal, runs around its hind quarters.

M [231] [171] [285] In regions where it is possible to breed horses, the Meau also know how to ride. They use stirrups of iron, such as the Chinese use, but also homemade ones, which are plaited out of rattan (Fig. 422).

[1] [see cat. 116, p250- ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p643- "]
[3] [" " " p596- "]

39: Bernatzik--581 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

Chapter 25

Time-reckoning and the Division of the Day

805

The Meau reckon by days. This is already shown by the designation for day, dŏ nŭ, literally, day-sun. The month, ĭs dī, of the Meau has thirty days; the year, tsŭn, is reckoned by moons. Twelve moons are one year. It begins with the new moon in December and is ushered in with tremendous festivals (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," the section, "Cult and Taboo"). If circumstances occur which prevent a [796] proper appreciation of the beginning of the new year, the festivities are postponed to a more suitable time.

805 114 171 [796] This custom seems to have given the impression among outside observers that the Meau have no calendar and celebrate the beginning of the new year at very different times (Savina (1)).

1. II, p. VII and p. 222.

Some people have even arrived at the view that the time reckoning of the Meau is of Chinese origin, as Lajonquière (2)

2. II, p. 314.

maintains, or even Dhuraratsadorn (3), who states concerning

3. Page 172.

this that the New Year's festival of the Meau coincides with that of the Chinese. On the contrary, the divided year of the Meau is fundamentally different from that of their neighbors, the Chinese, Yau /Yao/, Lahu (Mushŏ /Musso/), and Lisu, whose new year begins in January, or that of the Lao, which begins on April 14, and that of the Thailanders, which begins on March 31.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A
M /460 cont./
147 somewhat soft /461/ and plaintive, especially in comparison
M with the Akha women, who are superior to them in hardiness, as
147 these people generally are in relation to the Meau. I found
482 among the Meau of both sexes particularly good and reliable
[609] porters, though, in general, they perform porter-service for strangers very unwillingly. After they had once declared themselves ready to come to terms, however, the men as well as the women, without another word, took on loads up to 50 kilograms, walked along with these on their backs so rapidly that we could hardly keep up with them, and steadfastly kept their promise.

M The opposite of this pronounced mountain-folk character
147 of the Meau is formed by their valley-dwelling neighbors, the
181 Lao and the Schan /Shan/, who represent typical tropical peo-
● 171 ple of the valley lowlands. They are accustomed to having Nature pour everything from her horn of plenty into their laps without any effort, they love idleness, and they are lazy and indolent, for a single annual harvest abundantly feeds the family. They, too, are cheerful, but unreliable and flighty. The Lao were indeed easy to persuade to serve as porters, but they would complain even if the loads weighed only 18 kilograms and usually ran away after one day!

M The Meau treat women and children, as well as the
576 subordinates and unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section, "Age Classes, Secret Societies, Rank Organization") well throughout and are courteous to superiors without being
M humble. Abadie (1) also points out: "The Meau women are
157

1. Page 151.

cheerful, gay, and not very shy, especially when they have acquired confidence."

M Among one another the Meau are very friendly and
571 have a pronounced property sense. Whereas with regard to foreign
[648] people any violation of their property rights immediately arouses
[152] their warlike instincts, among the unmarried lads even the female sex cannot provoke any deep enmities; for these reasons duels
M are unknown. Such behavior is quite plausible in view of their
577